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Suffrage Victory Number

National Suffrage News

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SUFFRAGE MAP FOR 1917

(Gained Since January 1: North Dakota, Ohio, Indiana, Arkansas)

SNS

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Continuing the

HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

A printed attempt to maintain intimate contact between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its thousands of members throughout the country.

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EDITORIAL

* * *

Explanatory

This number of the NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS bears the April imprint designedly, although it remains Number Three of Volume Three, the numerical place that belongs to the March number. There will be no March number, so-called. Our date of publication has been changed so that, beginning with this number, each issue will appear during the last week of the month preceding. That drops March between the cracks, but twelve numbers will still be furnished to all subscribers who have ordered a year's subscription prior to this date.

* * *

As We Go Marching On

Since January 1, 1917, four great commonwealths of the United States of America, North Dakota, Ohio, Indiana and Arkansas, have enfranchised their women, if not wholly, at least in no meagre measure. These four victories mark for suffragists the last lap of the race to the goal of woman's full enfranchisement in every state in the Union. Having come so far, suffrage is bound to go forward with tremendous momentum.

The passage of the presidential suffrage bills in three states since January 1st raises the number of states in which women may vote for the President of the United States to sixteen, and the number of Electoral College votes they may participate in choosing to 144. Women may be said to vote for Presidential electors in Arkansas; as the Democratic ticket of electors is the only one in the field, they have already the whole substance of political power in that State.

It raises the total of enfranchised women from 3,665,445 to 5,956,850.

The eleven full suffrage states by the census of 1910 had 2,097,954 women of voting age. The three presidential suffrage states gained since January 1st have 2,291,407 women of voting age. In addition, Illinois alone has 1,567,491. Thus the four states with presidential suffrage have a potential woman voting force of 3,858,898, more than the total force of the twelve suffrage states in the 1916 elections. With the addition of Arkansas's 351,994, there are 6,308,854 women of the United States now partially or wholly enfranchised. Or, to state it another way, the eleven full suffrage states in the 45 years of effort up to the opening of the present year, had not achieved as many votes as have been added to the suffrage forces in two months of 1917. The total woman vote of 1916 has received a 62 per cent. increase since January first.

* * *

New Chairman of Congressional Work

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, who has been chairman of congressional work for the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Washington, has been called to her Missouri home. Following her resignation, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Chairman of the Congressional Lobby, has been appointed in her place. Mrs. Miller has given a winter of strenuous and invaluable work to the Federal suffrage campaign. Mrs. Park, the incoming chairman, has been in charge of the legislative section, one of the four sections of the congressional work, since January 1, so that she comes to the chairmanship of the committee of the whole as a seasoned Washington campaigner.

* * *

In Brightest Russia

"Universal Suffrage," "Equal Suffrage"—to women waiting for the vote those terms that have gone ringing across land and sea in connection with the promises of the new régime in Russia mean but one thing—the inclusion of women among the enfranchised. On March 8 the Duma Committee for Municipal Affairs voted that women be eligible for membership in town councils. This action came in partial recognition of the insistence of various women's organizations

of Russia which have been active of late in the agitation for women's rights. The organizations are: The Women's Mutual Aid Association, the Petrograd Women's Club, the First Women's Consumers' League, the Association for Promoting Agriculture and Farming, and the Kharkor Association of Working Women. The Russian Suffrage Society, the Defenders of Women's Rights, has been devoting itself to hospital service ever since the war began.

* * *

Seven Solemn Senators

In New York the big campaign is finally on. On February 20th the Whitney-Brereton Bill, which provides for the resubmission of woman suffrage to the voters of New York, passed the Lower House by a vote of 124 to 10. On the night of March 12th thirty-nine Senators voted for the referendum bill. Seven Senators only voted in the negative. Their reasons ranged far and wide. Two said it was impertinent for New York women to try, try again after having been defeated once. Two said they "didn't believe in woman suffrage"—and seemed to feel that that was sufficient reason to prevent other men from saying whether or not they believed in it. One said God had spoken against it. One was afraid of the alien women. And one groped his way lugubriously from woman suffrage to birth control, nearly sure that he saw a connection. But he voted Yes. The names of the solemn seven who voted No were: Bernard Downing, of New York City; Samuel J. Ramsperger, of Buffalo; Robert R. Lawson, of Brooklyn; Henry W. Sage, of Albany; Jos. E. Towner, of Towners; J. Henry Walters, of Syracuse, and Chas. W. Wicks, of Sanquoit.

That woman suffrage shall win at the polls in 1917 is the determination of the New York women. They are organized as never before, and they have lately seen the very last of the anti-arguments toppling into the trenches with other war-riddled débris.

* * *

The Connection

There are now twenty-four (24) prohibition states. Eight of them are states that had woman suffrage farther back than January 1, 1917. There are in all eleven (11) states that have full woman suffrage. That is to say, 72.7 per cent. of the full suffrage states are dry. Sixteen manhood suffrage states, 43¼ per cent., are dry.

Suffrage Service for Peace and War

Plans for gripping suffragists together for constructive national service in the event of war have gone forward with despatch and thoroughness since the Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association issued its "Note to the President and the Government," on February 25th. On behalf of the Government of the United States, the Secretary of War has accepted the offer of aid made by the Association.

What is particularly recommending the National's plan to suffragists is its equal applicability to time of peace as to time of war. To this hour suffragists are praying for peace, but day by day they mobilize in ever increasing numbers to back up their country's need, let peace stay or war come. Their plans are formulated now and are dramatic in their simplicity. "Department of Suffrage Agriculture" and the "Suffrage Thrift Division"—for the elimination of waste—are the two main divisions into which the work is grouping.

Members of both committees have waited upon the Secretary of Agriculture and he has endorsed the suffrage plan as being as good for peace as for war and promised the hearty co-operation of the Department of Agriculture. The National American Woman Suffrage Association is now issuing a nation-wide appeal to suffragists through their State Presidents and State Executive Boards to spread the knowledge that the National American Woman Suffrage Association desires to encourage the enlistment of all women whose opportunities permit for increasing the national food supply by gardening and farming and the elimination of waste.

Never get the idea that suffrage work will lag for a minute as suffragists go about their agricultural program. Like a well-ordered concept of religion to an intelligent person, so is suffrage to the suffragist. No Sunday affair, but a matter of daily life and application. The suffrage message will be upturned with every ploughshare, and be made to bloom from every potato patch.

* * *

A Correction

In the January NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS the "right to vote on constitutional amendments" was listed as included in the rights of franchise bestowed by the Illinois law. This was, of course, an error, and the statement was in direct contradiction to what had just preceded it.

THAT MENACE TO MEN!

Now and then one finds anti-suffrage arguments informed with a deep-down sense of some menace to men's rights involved in the granting of woman suffrage. This point of view was presented by a New York newspaper in an editorial some time back, with a consistency of reasoning that bespoke for it the most careful consideration, however much one might take issue with its premises. Its essential import was that if women saw fit to press their claims to political recognition much farther, they would find themselves in conflict with man's unswerving instinct to protect himself at all hazards, and they would come out much the worse for the encounter. It may have been a blow to chivalry in the minds of those who don't understand that chivalry means giving a woman what she doesn't want with a pretty bow. But it was honest. It was sincere. It was scared. And it said so, crudely and consistently.

But from official anti-suffrage sources comes now an analysis of the woman's vote in 1916, clanging out the same note of fear, with none of the same consistency of logic.

While woman suffrage, it is pointed out in that analysis, "cannot be used as a lever to effect the emancipation of women, it may be used as a tool for the enslavement of men by other men." That is to say, by voting in woman suffrage men may vote away their own political birthright.

Here is a potentiality which, if realizable, would give pause to women, even more than to men, the world over. Women know from bitter experience what political enslavement means. They know it in the face of men's distinguished insistence that it is easily offset by economic and social privileges—when the enslaved are women and married to men with good incomes or good earning capacity. *Vide* the constantly recurring argument that woman's claim to support and the concession to her of certain dainty attentions should outweigh, in her estimation, the right of self-government. It is in spite of this insistence that women grow keener and tenser with their own insistence that political enslavement is ignominy and not to be countenanced for any sane human being, man or woman. Because it is not possible for woman to lose her race concern in her concern for her own development, because her concern in her own development is, inherently, concern for the race, it is not possible for her to consider the enslavement of man with equanimity. Who better than she knows the deprecatory effect of enslavement, its effect upon self-respect, upon efficiency, upon the individual's sense of social responsibility? "Do not impose upon us the *duty* of the franchise," runs the anti-suffrage prayer. And to the suffragist, when you have reached the point where you pray to escape your duty, you have become very much depreciated indeed. It is, therefore, with the profoundest attention that woman gathers herself to read what the antis have to submit on this topic of the enslavement of men.

And what does she find?

Figures upon top of figures to prove that no matter when and where woman is enfranchised, her vote is utterly swallowed up in men's votes! Admitting that he allows every possible extension of what woman adds to the electorate, the anti writer proves that "man, the usurper, demonstrates that he dominates not only the amount of his majorities, but in the percentage of his preferences." And the all-comprehending conclusion is that, although groups of men here and there may be able to use the votes of their women as they see fit, "woman suffrage cannot grant political favor to its friends and woman suffrage cannot effect political failure for its foes."

Now, by the time that conclusion is reached, what has become of the potentiality of men's enslavement through women's votes? Is it but a cat o' nine tails to be cracked in the faces of fearful men in order to line them up on the side of self-interest, regardless of this remarkable anti-suffrage showing that there can be no ground for such uneasiness?

Manifestly. After shaking it once, the writer forsakes it utterly in order to devote himself to the proof of the assumption that woman's vote is at most but a duplicate vote, that she can gain nothing through the bestowal of the right of the franchise upon her because her exercise of that right will be nullified by the exercise of the same right by men, in superior numbers. By the same vagaries of logic (a logic that arbitrarily groups voters along some existing line of demarcation), the million Jews of New York need have no representation in the electorate because the Gentiles outvote them four to one. By the same line of reasoning the native-born population in certain South Dakota counties should have no vote because, no matter how well they exercise their voting prerogatives, they are outnumbered by the voters of Russian and German origin.

Fortunately, it is only by that line of reasoning and that lapse of logic that such grouping comes about. Of all the conclusions drawn from the woman vote in the last election, the most generally accepted is that women, no more than men, will group on grounds of sex solidarity.

"Analysis of Woman Vote in 1916 upsets Theories," reads the title of this anti-suffrage contribution.

There is but one theory with regard to woman suffrage that is worthy of sustained consideration. That is the theory of self-government. On that theory women who demand admission to the electorate rest their case. By virtue of that theory America shuts the door of her electorate in the face of not even the poorest and most ignorant foreign-born man who is admitted to her shores. It is one of those theories that are never upset by the facts and never can be. Least of all can it be upset by an analysis that twists around facts with the cork-screw logic of this anti-suffrage argument.

In China

China now has a lively woman suffrage society, agitating for three great reforms: The abolition of the opium traffic, of foot binding and of child slavery. A Chinese girl can now earn her own living, can become a teacher or a nurse, can aspire to be a government student abroad, and a doctor, an editor or even a social reformer at home.

In Japan

While there is no well-organized effort to secure woman suffrage among Japanese women, they are heading rapidly that way. The latest news from Cherry Blossom Land is that one hundred thousand women have founded an organization to demand their rights and have sworn never to marry unless their prospective husbands agree to support a movement for obtaining for them equal treatment with men, matrimonially and morally, and an improved economic position.

SURVEY OF THE SUFFRAGE PROSPECT

There are in all forty-seven suffrage bills presented in and, to some extent, already acted upon by the various states of the Union.

If they do not present forty-seven varieties, they are of several different kinds and afford a composite picture of the ways in which the rights of the franchise may be extended. Seven of the bills are for municipal suffrage or for votes at town meetings. Two are concerned with the rights of women in the constitutional conventions of their respective states. Thirteen are bills for presidential suffrage and twenty-three for constitutional amendments granting full suffrage in as many states.

Above—*Mrs. O. F. Ellington, commander-in-chief of the triumphant Arkansas Suffragists*

Center—*Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, who led Ohio's Suffrage hosts to victory*

Left—*Dr. Amelia R. Keller, State President Woman's Franchise League of Indiana, in the vanguard of Indiana's victorious Suffrage drive*

Right—*Mrs. Anna Dunn Noland, President Indiana Equal Suffrage Association, under whose banner Indiana Suffragists forged ahead to the goal*

Two or More

Several states have not been content with one or even two suffrage bills. In Ohio, for example, three bills to give women the vote have been under consideration. One by amending the charters of cities would give women a vote in all mayoralty elections and one in all city issues. A second, the Reynolds Bill for presidential suffrage, passed the Ohio House on February 2d by a vote of 72 to 50. It passed the Senate on February 21st. By the terms of the Reynolds Bill, the women of Ohio are granted presidential suffrage only. A constitutional amendment bill to grant the women of Ohio full suffrage was presented by Senator Holden and passed the Senate by a vote of 28 to 7 on February 7th. If passed by the House this bill may be referred to the people of the state at the polls next fall.

Mrs. Robert Clendening, sagacious leader of the victorious North Dakota forces

In January of this year, North Dakota legislators passed two suffrage bills. Presidential and municipal suffrage are granted to women by one of these bills which was signed by the Governor, Lynn J. Frazier, on January 23d. This goes into effect July 1, 1917. A second bill, one for full suffrage by constitutional amendment, will have to pass another legislature and will then be submitted to the people at the polls in 1919.

In Indiana the Legislature has been more generous than in any other state. The Maston Bill for presidential suffrage was passed on February 8th by the Senate with a two to one vote (32-16). It passed the House on Washington's Birthday by 67-24, an even larger proportion in its favor, and was signed by Governor Goodrich on February 28th. It so nearly gives full enfranchisement to the women of Indiana that it is called the "seven-eighths woman suffrage bill."

It gives women the right to vote for presidential electors, attorney-general, judges of the appellate, superior, criminal, probate and juvenile courts, members of the county council, township trustees, advisory boards and assessors; all elective officers of cities and towns; all school officers elected by the people and for all other elective officers not provided for in the Constitution of Indiana; and upon all questions other than constitutional amendments. By giving women the

right to vote for delegates to a constitutional convention, and for the ratification of the new constitution submitted to the votes of the people of the state, this bill will make Indiana women the first in the world to have a voice in their own complete emancipation.

A full suffrage bill, the Beardsley Bill, is also under way in Indiana. It has already passed both houses of this Legislature.

Where Bills Have Passed

Many other bills for full suffrage brought before state legislatures this year have passed one house or both. In South Dakota and Maine bills to amend the state constitutions and give full suffrage to women have passed both houses.

On January 11th, the Senate of South Dakota passed its bill with a favorable vote of 31 to 12, and the House followed suit on January 26th with a vote of 66-27. The legislature showed the strength of public sentiment in favor of this bill by passing it without debate.

The full suffrage bill for Maine women had the support of Governor Milliken in his inaugural address this year on January 1st. The Swift Amendment Bill passed the Maine Senate and the House on February 21st and 22d. The House vote was 113-35, more than a three-quarter vote in favor. The bill was signed by Governor Milliken on February 23d and will be submitted to the people at the polls in a special election on September 10th.

By March 1st of this year full suffrage bills had also passed the lower houses of Minnesota and New York with overwhelming majorities. The House vote in Minnesota on February 21st was 85-41 in favor and the vote in the Assembly of New York, taken on February 20th, was 124 to 10.

The Minnesota Senate has not yet taken action, but the Senate of New York, on March 11th, passed the Whitney-Brereton Amendment Bill by a vote of 39 to 7. The question of enfranchising the women of the Empire State will go to the people on November 6, 1917.

The Senate of Ohio and both houses of Oklahoma have acted favorably upon suffrage amendments to the constitutions of their states, and the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of Illinois has recommended favorable action upon the Barbour Bill completing the suffrage rights of the women of Illinois.

WHEN HONORS ARE EASY

When the Congress convenes on April 2d there will be scheduled for early action the introduction of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the House. It will be about the 40th time that it has been presented in the House, so that on the face of it there seems to be no news value in it. But this time is different. So different that the event stands out unique in suffrage history. Honorable Jeannette Rankin, of Montana, will introduce the amendment and it will be the first time in the history of the nation that a woman has been the sponsor of the long-standing bill to emancipate her sex. Nor is that all. It will be the first time in history that a man and a woman will both represent women in the appeal to Congress. Judge John Raker, of California, will sponsor the bill from the Democratic side, while Miss Rankin attends it on the Republican side.

EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS

In view of the earlier date of the extra session of Congress, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, the new chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, is sending out a hurry call to the members of her committee to meet in Washington. The National American Woman Suffrage Association has recently been called "the best fighting organization in the country." According to a recent census it has now two million enrolled members in fifty-seven (57) State Associations, each of which is organized by political districts. The chairman of each state heads a committee made up of district chairmen who direct a district committee which reaches into every county and precinct. The state chairmen will begin at once to tighten up these forces in their respective congressional districts, and every member of Congress who is not already pledged to the Federal Amendment will again be visited by delegations of his constituents before he leaves home. It is confidently predicted that the amendment will receive the necessary two-thirds vote before the end of the coming session.

ON THE HORIZON

Woman Suffrage is unmistakably on the horizon in Europe. War has thrust it there. The leaders of the movement in Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, yes, and in Russia, are successfully penetrating the old citadels of tradition and prejudice. Women's war service is proving too much of an argument for statesmen and political leaders to parry. They are slowly but surely beginning to yield before it.

If you are a follower of world events in the making, read the

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE NEWS
(Jus Suffragii)

If you are an observer, or more important still, a student of the Suffrage movement, read the

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE NEWS

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(CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, *President*)

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MOTHERS OF MEN AS LEGISLATORS OF STATES

MRS. ALEXANDER THOMPSON, LOWER HOUSE, OREGON

Figures in the hands of the National American Woman Suffrage Association show that there are eleven women at desks in the lower house of five different states, in 1917: Washington has one, Mrs. Ina P. Williams, (R); Montana has two, Mrs. Maggie Smith Hathaway, (D), and Mrs. Emma A. Ingalls, (R); Arizona has three, Mrs. Rosa McKay (D), Mrs. George B. Marsh (D), and Mrs. Pauline O'Neill (D); Utah has four, Mrs. Elizabeth T. Hayward (D), Mrs. Grace Stratton-Airey (D), Mrs. Daisy C. Allen (D), Mrs. Alma Greenwood (D); Oregon has one, Mrs. Alexander Thompson (D). It will be seen that nine of the eleven are Democrats and two are Republicans.

It is curious how man's fear pursues woman as she crosses the line into each new field of interest and endeavor. "What's to become of home and children if she does *that?*" comes the masculine wail. And it is reassuring to note how in each case reassurance comes as woman proves anew that no matter what else she is or may become she stays willingly, triumphantly, wife and mother. Take the case of these eleven women legislators: All are wives and most of them are mothers. Mrs. Hayward is the grandmother of five and prouder of the five than of her title as Representative of the State of Utah. It is not, after all, so easy for women to give up mothering as men and antis seem to think. It is rather more fundamental—the mother-capacity—than seems to be divined. It withstands all political, social and economic innovations. It is just eternally there. Women know it and carry it along with them into each and every new sphere that opens up.

Not only are most of the brand-new women legislators who greet you from these pages mothers, they are good cooks. That ought to help some. There is, for instance, Mrs. Alexander Thompson of Oregon. A Southerner by birth, her fried chicken and hot biscuit are about as famous as her gifts as public speaker. And there is Maggie Smith Hathaway, of Montana, who loves to "potter around the house" just as if she had not been, most of her life, a devoted social and educational worker. There is also Ina P. Williams, of Washington, mother of five, privately interested in home and chickens as well as publicly interested in making "the world a big home for children to live in."

MRS. MAGGIE SMITH HATHAWAY, MONTANA LOWER HOUSE

At least eight out of the eleven women legislators come from the ranks of self-supporting women. Mrs. Hathaway, Mrs. Allen and Mrs. Williams were teachers. Mrs. Thompson was a public reader. Mrs. Ingalls ran a newspaper. Dr. Stratton-Airey is an osteopath. Five of them made brillant records as workers for suffrage before the vote was won in their respective states. All of them have been distinguished by their attention to social legislation protective of women and children since their initiation into office.

MRS. ELIZABETH T. HAYWARD, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UTAH

Mrs. Maggie S. Hathaway proved her ability to hold office by a long and trying novitiate before she was elected on a Democratic ticket in a county which was Republican two to one. Mrs. Hathaway had been a clerk during one session and later a lobbyist, at which time she drafted a Mothers' Pension law and piloted an Equal Guardianship Bill through both branches of the legislature. The knowledge which this work gave her of the proceedings in a legislative Assembly stood her in good stead when the Speaker of the House called on her to preside over the House while in committee of the whole. She has made her way into the good graces of the legislators by her tact and ability to make her points without arousing any antagonism among those who do not share her views. Her ability as a debater is recognized. In her spirited defense of the anti-cigarette measure she was credited by one Senator with being "the man of the House," her speech putting her into the ranks of a leader. Mrs. Hathaway's memorial petitioning Congress for a nation-wide prohibition bill was signed by the Governor.

She is a humorous and forceful personality, practical and efficient. The sort of person who fits her abilities to occasion. If, for instance, no man can be found to make the apple boxes and sort the fruit on her self-run ranch, she does it herself. If the boy is too busy to drive the wagon to the railroad, she does that.

The Arizona legislature has three women members in the House. Representative Pauline M. O'Neill, of Phoenix, has always been interested in equal suffrage, her father, who was a firm believer in full citizenship to all, having taught her that sex should be no bar

MRS. PAULINE O'NEILL, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ARIZONA

to citizenship. The fight for equal suffrage was long and hard and often discouraging in Arizona. The usual order of procedure with every legislature was to pass the bill in one house and defeat it in the other, just to keep the women who were behind the measure uncertain as to its ultimate fate. After Arizona obtained Statehood, another measure for which Mrs. O'Neill worked strenuously, going to Washington with her husband to lobby for the measure, she expected the first State Legislature to grant the franchise to Arizona women. But the Arizona women were disappointed and told to make use of the Initiative and Referendum, which had been adopted into the State Constitution. The women got busy and the first initiative petition sent into the Secretary of State's office was the one asking for a vote on equal suffrage, and the amendment was adopted by a three to one vote. Mrs. O'Neill says that she does not find that in the work of the legislature the question of sex is one that figures at all. Education along the lines of better government has broadened the minds of all men and women, and questions of betterment of all conditions, especially along the lines of social uplift, are frequently and openly discussed, with the view to eradicate all evils which tend to lower the standard of morals.

MRS. EMMA A. INGALLS, MEMBER MONTANA LOWER HOUSE

Mrs. Alexander Thompson, Democratic member of the House of Representatives of Oregon, has made a record for herself by refusing to accept any courtesies offered her in the house "just because she is a woman." She was the author of a school bill requiring a minimum term of eight months each year for rural and city schools, which she fought to victory on the floor. She has a strong, ringing voice and her argument is crisp and pointed. After the completion of each session she spends hours at study preparing for the next day's work. Mrs. Thompson is a Democrat—descendant of old rebel Kentucky stock. As a speaker she was in great demand by the Democrats, in the days before Oregon women got the vote, but she steadfastly refused to work in the interests of any candidate until she had a vote to give to that candidate. It was a matter of principle with her. She said, "I will never lend my influence or aid where my vote cannot go, because the ballot is the only potent way in which a woman's sentiments may be expressed." Mrs. Thompson was the first woman in the United States ever to serve on a National Campaign Committee. She was sent as the National Committeeman from Oregon to the National Democratic Committee meeting in New York, September 1, 1916. She also represented the State in the same capacity at the notification of President Wilson of his renomination at Shadow Lawn, New Jersey, on September 2, 1916. She refutes the oft repeated charge that women haven't the physical endurance necessary for the duties of public office by feeling as fresh at the end of the session of the Legislature as when the session convened.

Instead of having eggs thrown her way and meeting with discourtesy at the hands of the people, according to Mrs. Emma A. Ingalls, of Montana, the men of her party welcomed her and extended her every courtesy, making her campaign so pleasant that she brought home with her many happy memories of her experiences. Nor did the consideration she received as a candidate for election stop with her election. She says, "It has been just the same sitting in the House of Representatives. Even the men who do not favor women in politics show no trace of it as I come in contact with them. They extend me every courtesy, and I shall have only pleasant recollections to take home with me." Mrs. Ingalls's pet bill is a vocational school for delinquent girls. In her efforts to have the bill passed by the Legislature she has the backing of all the women's clubs and economic organizations of Montana.

To Mrs. Grace Stratton-Airey, Representative of Salt Lake City, belongs the distinction of being the first woman ever to preside over the deliberations of a State Legislature. It was felt by her brother members of the House that Mrs. Airey had justly earned the distinction by her devotion to her legislative duties as an active champion and counsellor in committee sessions and on the floor of the House. Before entering politics Mrs. Airey was prominently identified with the civic and social movements of Salt Lake City. She is an ardent suffragist, but like all western women she takes the franchise as a matter of course. In looking back over the history of woman suffrage in Utah she says, "We have had suffrage in Utah for so long a time that it has ceased to seem strange, and, on the other hand, to move into a state where woman was denied this right would seem strange to us. An amusing incident occurred the night before election at headquarters. The chairman of the fifth ward came in to report progress and, among other items, he mentioned that every detail for getting out a complete vote in his district had been attended to, even to the hiring of two nurses who would be detailed to attend to the babies while their mothers came to the polls. So you see, when it

DR. GRACE STRATTON-AIREY, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UTAH

is to a man's advantage to do so, he is the one who overcomes the obstacles he has for so many years declared to be in the way of woman suffrage." Mrs. Airey is chairman of the Public Health Committee, and a member of the Appropriations Committee, the State Mental Hospital and the Resolutions and Memorials Committees.

MRS. DAISY C. ALLEN, UTAH LOWER HOUSE

MRS. INA P. WILLIAMS, MEMBER WASHINGTON LOWER HOUSE

Mrs. Elizabeth A. Hayward, a Democratic member of the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Utah, has not only been elected to office, she has been re-elected. She enjoys the unique distinction of being the only woman legislator re-elected in the State. She is now serving a second term in the House. Mrs. Hayward has always been interested in public affairs. For eight years she was president of the local Woman's Democratic Club, vice-president of the State Suffrage Council, and was a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions at St. Louis and Denver. She is a member of the Board of Control of the Playgrounds of Salt Lake City. It is Mrs. Hayward who is the mother of nine children and grandmother of five. She points out that age is no bar to political office-holding in Utah.

In Mrs. Daisy C. Allen, Democratic member of the House of Representatives, Utah has a native-born daughter. Mrs. Allen was born in Sandy, Utah, on December 4, 1882. After receiving her education in Utah and teaching for two years, she married and moved to Nebraska. From Nebraska she moved to New Jersey where she studied manual training, teaching in the Newark city schools. Returning to Utah, Mrs. Allen quickly became prominent in public affairs and was elected to office on the Democratic State ticket.

Mrs. Ina P. Williams, of North Yakima, Washington, was not only elected to the house of representatives of the 15th legislature of Washington by a large majority, but she polled the largest number of votes of any contested candidate in the election. Mrs. Williams first entered the political arena in 1910 when she campaigned the State for "men and measures." In 1912 she ran for State Representative on the Progressive ticket and was defeated. In explaining her interest in politics, Mrs. Williams said: "Women are wage-earners — I began making my own living at fifteen by teaching school — and as wage-earners they have a right to help solve questions affecting labor. They are property owners. They should help solve tax problems. They are wives and mothers. Surely they should help solve all problems that concern their homes and children. Through the medium of their organizations women have worked for years in an endeavor to bring their ideals of social and industrial justice before the public. But their hands have been mittened. Their fingers could not reach into the field of political action, and they have been able to accomplish comparatively little. What we have so long and fruitlessly tried to accomplish as women only, the women of Washington are now enabled to accomplish easily as women and citizens. Our ideals are now incorporated in a great political platform and are calling for definite action."

Besides her political reputation, Mrs. Williams enjoys not a few domestic honors. Her corn bread was given the first premium at the State fair and her baking powder biscuits have won blue ribbons for her. Her work in her flower garden has brought her a number of ribbons, while her White Orpingtons have won her prizes at the State fair and other poultry meets. Not satisfied with being an excellent housekeeper herself, she has trained her four young daughters to be capable housekeepers. To this versatile little woman it seemed a perfectly natural thing to lay down her milk pail, her garden spade, and cooking utensils and board a train to Chicago as one of the women delegates to the National Progressive Convention. Her interest in public affairs has kept pace with her domestic interests. "I want to help make laws that make the big home for all the children of the State a better place to live in," says Mrs. Williams. "A woman is closest to the food, sanitation and moral questions of the day. She is the nearest to the children. Should she not have the understanding and the opportunity to help promote helpful and necessary bills?"

ANTHONY APHORISMS

Susan B. Anthony's wit worked quickest when she was on her feet facing an opponent. One time in Albany, during the height of the early agitation on unjust marriage laws, a reverend gentleman named Mayo, an ardent abolitionist, reproved Miss Anthony thus: "You are not married, you have no business to be discussing marriage." "Well, Mr. Mayo," retorted Miss Anthony, "you are not a slave; suppose you quit lecturing on slavery."

"What the government needs at such a time (war time) is not alone bacteriologists and army officers, but also women who know how to take care of sick boys and have the common sense to surround them with sanitary conditions."

* * *

"When our platform becomes too narrow for people of all creeds and of no creeds, I myself cannot stand upon it."

ONCE THE VOTE IS WON

By Florence Young

California is adding a new reputation to the fame of her climate and fruits, her gold fields, oil fields and ranches; her women citizens are forging rapidly to the front as a notable factor in her wonderful development. While they are comparatively new to the franchise, in the short time in which they have voted—four years—they have made their influence felt in legislation affecting the social and moral life of the State. Nowhere in the West have women learned the value of co-operation more effectively than in California; their organizations honeycomb the State, the clubs being a training school for the women in the work of the State. One sees their influence in the home, the legislature, in social service, in municipal problems, the running of public institutions and public amusements; in fact, there is hardly a public question which escapes the eagle-eyed attention of some club, or women's organization. To unify their forces and get more direct action, the various women's organizations have organized a legislative council composed of delegates from each organization. The Women's Legislative Council of California is entrusted with looking after all legislation in which women are particularly interested. Among the bills before the present Legislature selected for advocacy by the Council are the custodial care of the feeble-minded, the community property law and the woman's juror bill.

No Favors Asked

Women proved such effective jurors in other States where they serve on juries that California women could see no valid reason for depriving their State of their services. When the women jury amendment came up for endorsement, Mrs. Herbert A. Cable, president of the Women's Legislative Council of California, met the objection that all women do not want to serve on juries with the statement that neither do all men want to serve on juries, and dismissed the objection that the unpleasant conditions of the court make it undesirable to have women jurors by saying that the conditions of a court of justice have no business to be unpleasant. In defending an amendment to the community property law, the Women's Legislative Council pointed out the injustice of the present law from a feminine point of view. Under the law, the husband enjoys all rights and is not required to pay an inheritance tax, as is the wife; under the proposed amendment the wife would have equal rights in all property accumulated after marriage and free of inheritance tax. It is noticeable that in legislation which the women have endorsed they ask for no favors, but simply to receive equal treatment with men under the law.

The Children's Ambassador

The women's organizations take a very active interest in juvenile welfare. Miss Ianthe Dunsmore, of Los Angeles, who has distinguished herself by her effective work among children, was sent to Sacramento by the women's clubs and organizations as the children's ambassador to look after certain juvenile legislative measures to come up before the State Legislature. The school bills also occupy a large portion of the women's attention. They are trying to unify the numerous educational bills which seventeen hundred educators in the State foster.

Besides the State issues, the women of California work with the men on municipal problems. When Mayor Rolph of San Francisco recently issued a call to the citizens of San Francisco to help him clean up the vice resorts of the city, he appealed to men and women's organizations impartially. The Law Enforcement League of San Francisco, organized to keep in touch with municipal problems for the purpose of correcting social abuses, numbers among its officers men and women. Apparently California feels every citizen must perform his or her duty to the State, regardless of sex, and the women have not been slow to respond to the call to arms.

Prisons and Prisoners

An interesting feature of one of the programs of the Friday Morning Club of Los Angeles, a club numbering many hundreds of women on its membership, was the appearance of a learned Justice to discuss before the members of the club a bill dealing with the treatment of convicted criminals. The bill was for the institution of the indeterminate sentence which would replace the fixed sentences meted out by judges for various offenses. Among the activities of the women of Los Angeles is a determined effort to improve conditions existing in the women's section of the city jail. The women's ward is unsanitary and women suffering from contagious diseases are put in with healthy women and homeless children, who have been sent to the ward while their parents are being located. Not infrequently the children and women who are well contract disease through contagion. The city's housing facilities still are hopelessly inadequate, but the women have skirmished around until they found an empty fire-house, which could be converted into a detention home for the women who are ill. Another laudable effort on their part has been the establishment of a woman's court, which was made possible largely through the efforts of the women's clubs. The constitution of the court calls for a male judge, a clerk, a stenographer, a woman prosecutor from the City Prosecutor's Office, a woman public defender, and a woman bailiff. There is also a woman's committee of twenty-five appointed by the judge. The president of the committee appoints an executive committee of three. At each sitting of the court three members of the committee are appointed to sit with the judge. The court-room has been made as unterrifying as possible. The judge does not sit on the bench but at a large table opposite the prisoner, which makes for easy confidence and conversation. One of the good features of the court is the comparative privacy and the discouragement of a large male audience. An adjunct of the court is a training home where the women who want to earn a decent living are taken care of, either while on probation or after they have served their sentences, and are taught some kind of work. This particular idea of justice was an ambitious effort on the part of the women and they have had to nurse the woman's court and training school on a very precarious financial basis, depending entirely upon volunteer subscriptions. The women of California, however, are not deterred by obstacles. They have put their shoulders to the wheel of State with their men and are proving to the satisfaction of the State their worth as citizens.

A NOTE TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE GOVERNMENT

The Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, consisting of the official board, chairmen of standing and special committees and state presidents, called together in conference to consider a crisis in the affairs of our nation,

TO THE PRESIDENT AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

We devoutly hope and pray that our country's crisis may be passed without recourse to war. We declare our belief that the settlement of international difficulties by bloodshed is unworthy of the Twentieth Century, and our confidence that our government is using every honorable means to avoid conflict. If, however, our nation is drawn into the maelstrom, we stand ready to serve our country with the zeal and consecration which should ever characterize those who cherish high ideals of the duty and obligation of citizenship. With no intention of laying aside our constructive, forward work to secure the vote for the womanhood of this country as the right protective of all rights, we offer our services to our country in the event they should be needed, and, insofar as we are authorized, we pledge the loyal services of our more than two millions of members. We make this offer now in order to avoid waste of time and effort in an emergency; also, that the executive ability, industry and devotion of our women, trained through years of arduous endeavor, may be utilized, with all other national resources, for the protection of our country in its time of stress.

WE PROPOSE:

That a national central committee be formed at once, composed of a representative from each national organization of women willing to aid in war work, if the need arises. The object shall be to establish a clearing house between the Government and those organizations, in order that service may be rendered in the most expeditious manner. With this end in view, we recommend that each component organization list its resources and report to this central committee concerning the definite work it is prepared to do. To further the practical application of this suggestion, our organization declares its willingness to undertake the following departments of work:

I. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS FOR WOMEN.

Through its local, state and national headquarters, to register the names and qualifications of women available for occupations which men will leave to enter the army; to supply these women to employers and to protect the work of such women.

II. THE INCREASE OF THE FOOD SUPPLY BY THE TRAINING OF WOMEN FOR AGRICULTURAL WORK AND THE ELIMINATION OF WASTE.

The aid of the Department of Agriculture will be sought in planning systematic courses for women to accomplish these purposes. The cultivation by women of garden plots and vacant lots in cities, will be encouraged at the same time that the larger importance of regular farming is urged.

III. THE RED CROSS.

As the Red Cross, in which many of our members are zealous workers, is already equipped to render hospital, medical and general supply service, we offer our organized service in other fields, and we promise continued co-operation with the Red Cross, as needed.

IV. AMERICANIZATION.

A problem unknown to other lands will become accentuated in the event of war. Within our borders are eight millions of aliens, who, by birth, tradition and training, will find it difficult, if not impossible, to understand the causes which have led to the war. War invariably breeds intolerance and hatred, and will tend to arouse antagonisms inimical to the best interests of a nation. With the desire to minimize this danger, our Association, extending, as it does, into every precinct of our great cities and into the various counties of the states, offers to conduct classes in school centers, wherein national allegiance shall be taught, emphasizing tolerance, to the end that the Stars and Stripes shall wave over a loyal, patriotic and undivided people.

V. CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

In order to carry out our expressed desire and purpose, a committee of three is hereby ordered appointed to confer with the proper authorities of the Government. If need arises, this committee shall be the intermediary between the Government and our Association.

(Signed) EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,
National American Woman Suffrage Association.
By ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
Honorary President.
MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President,
MRS. WALTER MCNAB MILLER,
First Vice-President,
MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN,
Third Vice-President,
MRS. HENRY WADE ROGERS,
Treasurer,
MRS. THOMAS JEFFERSON SMITH,
Recording Secretary,
MRS. FRANK J. SHULER,
Corresponding Secretary,
MRS. SOLON H. JACOBS,
First Auditor.
MISS HELOISE MEYER,
Second Auditor.

February 25, 1917.

A REPRESENTATIVE CONFERENCE

At the conference at which it was decided to issue the above note, approximately 75 per cent. of all the component organizations of the National American Woman Suffrage Association were represented by delegates. The attendance covered 36 states out of the 45 in which the National has immediate state affiliation. The action taken must, therefore, be viewed as truly representing a nation-wide conviction among the members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

NATIONAL SERVICE FOR PEACE AND WAR

Suffrage Agriculture Committee

By Emma Winner Rogers

February 25th the Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association addressed a note to the President and Government of the United States offering the services of our membership to the nation, in the event that we should be needed and insofar as we were authorized to do so. This offer was accepted for the Government by the Secretary of War. The second article in the practical programme of this offer of service stated our purpose:

"To Increase the Food Supply by the Training of Women for Agricultural Work and the Elimination of Waste. The aid of the Department of Agriculture is to be sought in planning systematic courses for women to accomplish these purposes. The cultivation by women of garden plots and vacant lots in cities will be encouraged at the same time that the larger importance of farming is urged."

Reproduced from the N. Y. Evening World

BEHIND THE MAN BEHIND THE GUN

Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers was made Chairman for Suffrage Agriculture, and Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Chairman for the Elimination of Waste. The following women were appointed members of Mrs. Rogers's committee: Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Miss Heloise Meyer, Mrs. Winston Churchill, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Mrs. Woodruff Leeming and Miss Ruutz-Rees.

Members of both Committees waited upon the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture to secure the co-operation of the Department in plans for enlisting and training women for agricultural work and for the elimination of waste. He remarked at once that this plan was as good for peace as for war, a fact which will commend it to suffragists throughout the nation.

We now appeal to suffragists through their State Presidents and State Executive Boards to spread the knowledge that the National Association desires to encourage the enlistment of all women, whose opportunities permit, for increasing the food supply by gardening or farming and by the elimination of waste.

The women of England, France, Italy and all the warring countries have taken over in large measure the agricultural work in these countries on account of their men serving under the colors. Already in this country in time of peace there is a serious shortage of food on account of partial failure of certain crops, and of the very large exportation of food supplies to Europe as well as of combinations to hoard food supplies. Prices for the necessaries of life have more than doubled in the last year, and in the event of war much more serious results may be anticipated. There already exists in the United States an army of women farmers and gardeners. The census of 1916 gives the numbers as follows:

WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

Farmers	257,706	Gardeners' Laborers	7,474
Farm Laborers	1,514,423	Miscellaneous, about	7,000
Farm Foremen	7,765		
Gardeners	7,834	Total	1,802,202

The National American Woman Suffrage Association believes that a large additional number of women will gladly prepare themselves to take the places, if need be, of men as farmers and farm and garden managers, as well as do their share in the manual labor involved in producing an adequate food supply.

No part of agricultural work is beyond the strength and capacity of women except two or three of the heavier processes. In everything else the skill, interest and sympathy of women, with proper training, will turn out well equipped agriculturists to help swell the food supply.

Women land-owners are urged not only to be responsible for all the crops their land will carry but to contribute the excess of their own needs to a canning center, this center to be under the charge of a trained woman expert from the agricultural schools. She could teach proper canning methods for vegetables and fruits to the same women who raise the vegetables and to others who would volunteer for canning services only. The canned beans, peas, tomatoes, fruit, etc., could be stored for winter use and sold at reasonable prices when the summer produce ceases.

Spring at hand makes it essential that activities be begun at once, both in providing short courses for training women who will take up gardening and farming, and enlisting those already prepared to enter this work. The National Association will suggest short courses of training in gardening and farming and forward to the State Presidents and the Chairman of Suffrage Agriculture in each State. The Chairmen, with their committees, are strongly urged to begin at once the work of enrollment of all suffragists who wish to undertake gardening and farming and who desire to enter classes and clubs for instruction on these lines.

A Garden for Every Home

To Secretary Vrooman of the Department of Agriculture suffragists are indebted for the far-carrying slogan, "A Garden for Every Home." It covers one of the most practical plans which can be undertaken immediately. Window- and roof-gardening for city apartment dwellers is urged. A part of every dooryard should this spring be turned into a garden plot. Lawns that need remaking can be excellently renovated by planting potatoes upon them for the season. The close cultivation and fertilization will result later in a splendid foundation for a renewed green-sward. We advise every woman who possibly can to undertake regular farming on a small or large scale, as seems best; and all who cannot do this to plant and cultivate a small or large garden plot. Other matters important for the planting season

will be suggested in further bulletins from this committee.

The purpose of the present statement is to apprise all suffragists throughout the land of our purpose to aid the country in procuring and distributing a food supply adequate to the needs, which, whether in peace or war, will be of inestimable value to the country, as well as serving to promote the general health and of offering an outlet for the patriotic desire of thousands of women to serve their country at this crisis.

As rapidly as State Chairmen and Committees are appointed the names should be sent to Mrs. Rogers, 171 Madison Avenue, New York City, so that suggestions and plans may be forwarded direct to them from the National Committee on Suffrage Agriculture. State Presidents, in the event of no immediate Board meeting, should appoint a State Chairman and send forward the name, thus helping to carry out the plan for National Service adopted at the Executive Council Meeting.

Organization

1. Each State Suffrage Association Board should appoint a capable woman as Chairman for Suffrage Agriculture. The President and the State Board are urged to co-operate heartily with such chairman and to advise the selection by her of a committee of three or more members.

2. The State Chairman with her committee should get in touch at once with the State Agricultural Department and any Agricultural College and with the county Farm Bureaus within the State, asking their active co-operation. The State Chairman and her committee will be free to map out any plan that seems adapted to the needs and conditions of her own State, accepting such suggestions from the National Committee on Suffrage Agriculture as are adapted to the work in her State.

3. Every Local League should appoint a capable Chairman for Suffrage Agriculture who is interested in the subject; the Chairman to select women in or out of the League to act on her committee.

4. Officers of Local Leagues should invite all women interested to a public meeting and present the need of an increased food supply for peace or war. Organize the women into a non-dues paying Farm, Garden and Vacant Lot Club, auxiliary to the Local League, pledging each woman to farm or to plant a vegetable garden upon her own lot or upon land she can secure, or to co-operate in the movement for cultivating vacant city lots.

Training

1. Arrange short courses in gardening and farming. Provide access for club members to farm and garden books and magazines through the Public Library, or in other ways.

2. Secure National and State Agricultural Bulletins for use by club members. Plan talks and lectures for the club or the league, open to the public, with speakers from the County Farm Bureau and State Agricultural Department, as well as from the list of speakers which will be offered by the National Suffrage Agriculture Committee.

3. Plan to provide garden and farm seeds and implements at reduced prices through reliable seed and implement houses.

4. Offer prizes for the best vegetable garden, the rules to be determined by the club.

5. Plan for a booth at the County Fair.

General Suggestions

1. Your National Committee will list the Farm and Garden Bulletins of most practical value and give information as to the economical purchase of seeds, fertilizers and other supplies. It will convey information as to home use and canning of vegetables and fruits, and also the marketing of surplus products.

2. It advises every State Chairman for Suffrage Agriculture and all Local Leagues to determine ways of raising money for the Farm and Garden Club work.

3. It suggests the raising of medicinal herbs as a profitable form of gardening, especially now that the great war has cut off much of the supply.

4. It suggests window-box and roof-gardens to the millions of women living in apartments. Herbs, parsley, lettuce, dwarf tomatoes and other useful plants may be grown in this way.

5. It suggests the raising of poultry, pigs and calves by women to afford a better and cheap home and market supply of these high-priced foods.

6. It recommends immediate planning and preparation for raising the earliest varieties of spinach, lettuce, peas, potatoes, cabbage, beets, beans and sweet corn to relieve the monotony of the present reign of rice, hominy and dried beans.

7. It suggests small hot-beds in which to start garden-truck early and decrease the expense of buying plants.

8. It suggests starting vegetable seeds at once indoors in wooden boxes about 12 x 20 inches and 6 inches high, to be later transplanted to garden beds.

9. It suggests an Automobile Campaign to enlist women on farms and in villages for membership in the Farm and Garden Clubs and to get their practical help.

10. It suggests enlisting girls and women for outdoor work on farms and in gardens, to remedy in part the growing scarcity of labor in these fields. And it advises a simple uniform for such farm and garden employees, and for all our women who enlist to increase the national food supply in this crisis.

Garden Schools

1. Get permission to address High School and Eighth Grade students, if no school garden work is being carried on, and enroll them in a garden club for garden work.

2. Secure the use from the city or private owners of vacant lots. Have these plowed and set off into 10 x 16 foot plots. Allot the garden plots to members of the Garden School Club.

3. Furnish fertilizer and supervision by a competent person. Penny packets of seed should be sold to the young gardeners, and they should furnish their own tools, or pay a trifle for rent of them. A rental of three or five cents a week may be charged for the garden plots. On plots only 8 x 10 feet five dollars' worth of vegetables can be raised.

4. Home garden plots (where that is possible) are advised for Garden School Club members, with a special supervision for this work.

5. The vegetables raised should belong to the one raising them.

6. Prizes should be offered for the best gardens, the rules to be determined by the committee in charge.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE WILL HELP

Assistant Secretary Vrooman of the United States Department of Agriculture pledges the hearty co-operation of the Department in the following letter:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, March 12, 1917.

MY DEAR MRS. ROGERS:—

Secretary Houston in a recent statement estimates that $700,000,000 is wasted each year in American homes through lack of food conservation. I think that this is a conservative estimate. We tend to eat too much, to eat foods which cost too much, to waste a large percentage of the food prepared for our tables, and to waste too much time in preparing and serving our meals. This is a universal fault, and the men are to blame as much as the women, for few men take an intelligent interest in the operation of the home, and the women as a rule lack the education in home economics which alone can lead to success. You will find a host of suggestions in my own articles as well as in the bulletins which I am forwarding, but the suggestions will be useless unless you manage to teach the women that homes must be run on a new *principle*, on the principle of simplicity, and that no one little improvement by itself will solve the problem. In the future women should pride themselves as much on their economy and simplicity as in the past they have prided themselves on the costliness and elaborateness of their menus.

I know a young married couple who started out with the right idea. They resolved to *question* every household process—the price of every food, the way in which every food was cooked, the food value of every food, and what were the best substitutes for expensive foods. This couple has not been married long enough to supply complete data on home preparedness, but they have already saved many dollars a month over what they paid for food at the beginning of their married life, and their table is better than it was at the start. They use the fireless cooker, of course, for they live in an apartment without a coal range. They have a small hand grist mill in which they grind fresh every few days their own coffee, their own wheat for breakfast food, bought at $2.00 a bushel as against the $32.00 at which wheat is bought in the form of breakfast foods, and so on.

One of my ideas is that in time of war—and in time of peace, for that matter—it is the function of women to endeavor to fill every place which men would otherwise fill, thus releasing men for duties in the war which they alone, practically speaking, can undertake.

Each region and locality should be made as nearly as practicable agriculturally independent. As to the question of what women can do directly in agriculture: My idea is that every woman ought, if the ground is available, to plant this spring a kitchen garden. The exercise of running a small garden is very healthful, and the economy of it is not to be belittled. Then, too, women living on the farm should experiment, beginning now to see where they would fit in case the men were drawn away. They should learn by practice how to use all the different farm implements, and should master the elements of scientific agriculture. (See Farmers' Bulletin No. 704.)

Women should be made to realize that this Department of Agriculture is *their* department, and should get into the habit of writing freely to it for information and advice. The Home Economics Office will supply material on subjects relating to home economy, and other Bureaus contain reservoirs of information which the women ought to learn to tap. If a woman is in doubt exactly whom to write to in the Department, tell her to address her letter to the Secretary or to me, and it will be promptly referred to the proper bureau and she will receive the information if we have it.

Please be assured that I will do everything in my power to assist you, and please call on me at any time for anything that I can possibly do.

Very sincerely yours,
CARL VROOMAN,
Assistant Secretary.

BACK-YARD GARDENS

By Carl Vrooman

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Every available back-yard in the city or suburbs should be turned into a vegetable garden. Half an acre properly prepared, planted and cared for will supply a family with exercise for several months and with vegetables for a year. These vegetables will not only cut down the high cost of living, but will improve the health of the family by insuring essential food products always clean and fresh.

The nation is "prepared," so far as quantity of nearly every kind of food product is concerned. However, in a crisis like the present, we are amazingly unprepared to handle efficiently the problem of food distribution. In case of war this national unpreparedness for food distribution would become a nation-wide tragedy. Our transportation facilities probably would be taken over by the War Department, to be used primarily for military purposes, and millions of our people would inevitably suffer serious deprivation as a result of our lack of anything even remotely resembling a national policy of food preparedness.

A great outcry is being raised all over the country for governmental action in our present food crisis. This demand is natural and reasonable, but it should be accompanied by energetic action by our people to help themselves. National efficiency depends upon a proper co-operation between governmental agencies and individual citizens. One of the best ways that individuals can assist the Government in solving this great problem of food preparedness is by planting as many kitchen gardens as practicable.

Experts of the Department of Agriculture for years have been advocating the back-yard garden. They have shown that a plot as small as 25 x 75 feet can be cultivated to advantage on a two or three crop system. This size garden will supply a family with radishes, lettuce, early beets, cabbages, tomatoes, onions, parsnips, beans, egg-plants, and, later in the season, spinach and kale, to supply green stuff for the following winter.

I cannot too strongly recommend that the individual go in for home gardening, but it is necessary to issue two important storm warnings: Do not plant a larger garden than you can cultivate well, and remember that all back lots cannot be made into good gardens. Growing vegetables involves a chemical process, and unless the earth has the proper chemical elements in it, there will be no results. Particularly is this apt to be the case in city back lots, for very often the soil of cities is muck soil, composed of rubbish, street dust and cinders, without the necessary humus or decayed vegetable matter which is essential to plant growth.

The home garden will teach the city man or suburbanite a lot of things about nature and human life of which he is apt to be ignorant. Through the agency of the home garden I hope to see spread an interest in the agricultural problems of this country. Individual food preparedness in several ways is a vital part of any successful policy of national food preparedness.

SUFFRAGE THRIFT DIVISION

By Helen Guthrie Miller

In accepting the services offered by the Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association the Secretary of War expressed his pleasure that the women were going to stress the elimination of waste problem.

In every discussion of preparedness, whether for peace or war, one point has gained undoubted prominence; namely, that in this country there is a marked failure to utilize both our material and our human wealth to the best advantage, and if the nation is to measure up to its full strength, a campaign for the elimination of waste in all parts of the national life is imperative. Though much of the waste in this country is due to ignorance, the great cause is the failure to recognize the value and beauty of thrift.

The object of this Thrift Committee, then, is twofold: 1st, to emphasize, through education, the virtue of economy, and, 2d, to suggest definite methods of eliminating waste.

Human Waste

The question of waste naturally divides into two parts, (a) the waste of humanity and (b) the waste of materials. Under the first come such large problems as can best be solved by increasing the public understanding of them, thus stimulating a demand for their investigation. When we read the statistics given out by the Children's Bureau, (a) that one in ten of all babies born in the United States die under one year of age; (b) that twenty-five per cent. of *all* deaths are those of children under five years of age; (c) that more women from the ages of fifteen to forty-five die from conditions incident to maternity than from any other cause except tuberculosis, we realize what a great avenue of education and work is opened up for women in this direction.

In this connection, the work of the Public Health Service of the United States Treasury Department in the study of diseases and epidemics is of the utmost value in the study of household and community sanitation.

Waste of Materials

Here again, one general cause is ignorance or misunderstanding of (a) amounts of material and labor actually needed; (b) providing materials and labor to the best advantage; (c) failure to utilize them to the best advantage when procured.

This applies equally to household equipment and to food and clothing. The war in Europe has taught the citizens there the need of denying themselves all but the necessaries of life, and in our own country the increased cost of living has focused attention on this same problem.

The head of one of our Government bureaus has pointed out that one reason for the high cost of living is the domestic waste and over-consumption due to the high purchasing power on account of the prosperous industrial conditions; that demand has not been in line with supply and that millions who are relatively comfortable have insisted on buying as usual on a dwindling market, thus bringing undue hardships on those who have not benefited by the industrial activity. Whether this be the cause or not, it is certainly true that a campaign of "Eat what you need and do not waste anything" would be most effective at this particular time.

In order to work most effectively the following suggestions are made: 1, That you appoint a Chairman for the State at large, such person to be chosen for her knowledge and interest in economics; 2, Under her should be a working committee of three or more, also chosen for their interest in this particular problem. This committee should enroll all those who are willing to join the Thrift Division of the suffrage army.

We can best co-operate with Government officials in the work already being done by them in the counties. In many counties there are women county advisors working under the federal or state extension departments, and where there is no such agent a movement to secure one would doubtless meet with success. Much is being done by the agricultural departments of the States, by universities, experiment stations and extension workers, all of which should be utilized. This work includes popular bulletins, short courses, traveling schools, etc. Correspondence with State universities or extension service will easily show what can be provided by each State. In the community there can be found some teacher of home economics, some rural nurse, dietician, or one trained in this particular line of work, who would help to plan for a series of talks at suffrage headquarters or in some school center.

As rapidly as State chairmen and committees are appointed, the names are to be sent in to me at 171 Madison Avenue, New York City, so that follow-up work and material may be sent them. The immediate necessity, however, is to appoint chairmen, enroll members and plan for an effective campaign for the elimination of waste. In so doing will we prove ourselves valuable citizens worthy of the "right protective of all rights"—the ballot.

In connection with the appeal to suffragists for national service in the present crisis

READ

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WOMEN DEFENDERS IN TIME OF PEACE

By Mary Sumner Boyd

"Women cannot be called upon to serve in any capacity where law is to be executed on adults."—EDWARD D. COPE.
(The February issue contained an article by Mrs. Boyd on "Women's War Service.")

Offices involving the law and its execution on both adults and minors are among the oldest to which women have been appointed in this country. Today the woman police matron, the woman probation officer, the woman sheriff, the policewoman, the woman warden, the woman justice of the peace and the woman judge are so common that it has grown impossible to keep track of them. At the most a new election or appointment of this kind is given an inch news note in a local paper.

MRS. MARTHA SYMONS-BOIES-ATKINSON, FIRST WOMAN BAILIFF

In the middle of the last century a woman police matron was appointed in New York City, largely through the efforts of the great woman reformer, Josephine Shaw Lowell. As far as we know she was the first woman in the police service. Police matrons are now found in practically all cities.

Not long after, Mrs. Esther Morris was appointed Justice of the Peace in the desperado mining community of South Pass City, Wyoming, then a frontier town in the midst of Indian tribes. The specific reason given for appointing Mrs. Morris, and later for making women serve on jury in Wyoming, was that the men of that territory could not be trusted to mete out even justice, but in nine cases out of ten let the criminal go free. "Mrs. Judge" Morris administered justice without fear and with a vigorous and impartial hand until the year after the territory adopted woman suffrage in 1869, when she resigned on account of old age. The local press of that time speaks of her as "winning the respect and admiration of the community."

MRS. ESTHER MORRIS, FIRST WOMAN JUSTICE OF PEACE

There were other women sheriffs and justices of the peace in the old days, and there have been many of late years. Among recent appointments are Katharine S. Clark, Justice of the Peace at Oak Park, Illinois; Mrs. Rhea Whitehead, one of the six Justices of the Peace of Seattle, Washington; Mrs. John C. Duff, of Chinook Township, Montana, and many others.

In 1910 the first policewoman was appointed. This was Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, of Los Angeles, and the experiment was so successful that the appointment of policewomen has spread all over the country. In December, 1916, there were somewhere between 115 and 125 policewomen serving in American cities. Chicago had 40, far the greatest number of any single city, but New York, where women have no political power, had none.* Mrs. Hannah D. Long, of Trenton, N. J., began her duties as the first policewoman in New Jersey in January, 1916. Mrs. Long had supervision of dance halls, places where liquor is sold supposedly to minors, and it was her duty also to look after girls who are in the street after dark. One main duty of policewomen is to arrest women under circumstances where the police are compelled to enter their bedrooms or otherwise intrude on their privacy. But the duties of the policewomen are very various. In Cleveland some are even among the mounted police.*

Isabelle Caruthers has served as bailiff in the Domestic Relations Court of Chicago. Women probation officers are on duty in women's and children's courts in all the great cities, the first having been appointed in the 70's. Probably the best-known woman serving in this capacity is Maud Miner of the Women's Night Court, New York. One of the greatest figures in probation work is Mrs. Jane Deeter Rippin, who has recently reorganized the probation system of Philadelphia and has been put in charge of this work in all the city courts, criminal, police, juvenile and domestic relations.

There are eighteen women probation officers in Brooklyn and only ten men. As one official puts it "the women of Brooklyn were so blamed good" that some of these eighteen women had nothing to do and were given charge of recalcitrant husbands in domestic relations cases, a work involving a considerable danger when account is taken of the character and manner of living of many of these men.

According to the newspapers every woman appointed to a judgeship is "the first instance of the kind"; items of this kind appear again and again and we do not know who actually was the first woman judge.

Early in 1914, Mary Bartelme was raised from a minor court office to that of Associate Judge of the Children's Court of Chicago. In that year also Mrs. Georgia Bullock was appointed Judge of the Women's Court of Los Angeles, and women judges have been appointed to city, police, probate and other courts in the equal suffrage states. Even in the male suffrage states there have been some, among them Frances

* Alice Stebbins Wells' book, "Policewomen and Their Work," which will be published in the spring, will contain the latest and most authentic information on policewomen.

Hopkins, probate judge at Liberty, Missouri, and Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, superintendent of the Women's Reformatory, at Slieghton Farm, Darling, Pa., who is a judge of the Juvenile Court of Philadelphia. In November, 1915, Orfa Jean Schontz was appointed referee in the Juvenile Court of Los Angeles, California, with the powers of Judge. The scope of the court includes girls up to their majority, and young boys. In one year 1,575 cases passed before Miss Schontz.

Photo by Paul Thompson
SHERIFF LUCRETIA ROBERTS OF ARIZONA

The superintendent of a reformatory, which takes in grown young women, occupies a position where "law has to be executed on adults," and there are innumerable women serving in this capacity. Women are also serving as wardens; the most important appointment of this kind is that of Mrs. Jane Armstrong, warden of the State Woman's Farm at Valatie, New York.

In two states a woman has had charge of the whole correctional system. These are Kate Barnard, of Oklahoma, and Helen Grenfell, of Colorado. Until recently when she resigned to accept a position on the State Board of Parole, Katharine Bement Davis was Commissioner of Corrections of the City of New York.

The position of prosecutor for the state is by no means one coveted by the timid and peace loving, and yet since 1915 Mrs. Annette Abbott Adams has been the Associate United States district attorney for the Northern District of California.

STRONG SUFFRAGE SENTIMENT IN NORTH DAKOTA

Suffragists assume, as a matter of course, that North Dakota's constitutional amendment bill will have smooth sailing through the 1918 Legislature and be endorsed at the polls in the autumn of that year. It has already passed the 1917 Legislature; North Dakota has already given her women presidential suffrage, and State sentiment seems predominately pro-suffrage.

While word of the winning of presidential suffrage for this State was flashing over the wires, it was the customary thing to hear exclamations of surprise at the ease of the victory. It was quite generally recalled that North Dakota "defeated suffrage" in 1914. How could sentiment change so quickly, people wondered. It didn't change. It was already there in 1914 by 10,000 majority. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, is in receipt of advices from North Dakota which set forth the true inwardness of that so-called defeat, and show that it was by blank votes, not by noes that the fate of suffrage was determined in 1914. As a matter of history, there were, on any plausible basis of count, 12,000 more yes votes than no votes on the suffrage amendment to the constitution. But blank votes were counted as against suffrage. The story, as told by the Votes for Women League of North Dakota, follows:

"In the campaign of 1914 woman suffrage received 40,209 yes votes. It was voted on under Article 122 of the Constitution and required a majority of all the votes cast at that election. Suffrage was the only bill with such a requirement and there was no special provision made for counting the vote on this question, therefore the blanks and the noes were not separated.

"According to the returns, the blanks and the noes were 49,348, making a total of 89,557—251 more than voted for all candidates for Governor, which had the biggest vote at that election.

"On the Initiative and Referendum there were cast 68,747 votes, on State Aid to Highways, 68,441, on Terminal Elevators, the big fight of the year, 68,800.

"It is fair to suppose that suffrage received the same votes as these three amendments, around 68,000 votes. These figures give proof enough that the no vote on woman suffrage was approximately 28,000, showing a majority of 12,000 for the yes vote.

"If woman suffrage had not had the overwhelming handicap of the blank votes, the women of North Dakota would have been enfranchised citizens two years ago."

THE LITTLE RED SHAWL AND THE OLD BLACK ALPACA

One of the small but poignant features of Susan B. Anthony's life was her woman's love of beautiful clothes, a love which she gaily laid on the altar of her devotion to the suffrage cause, joking as she saw it go up in smoke, from which she herself emerged plain and rigid and drab. All through life throbbed the pulse of this vivid little passion of the great pioneer followed by the echo of her own laughter over it. What she might have spent on dress she spent on the suffrage cause. But her love of color was unconquerable, and even in the days when her dress was standardized to a black alpaca with a soft lace collar, she wore always a little red shawl. "Susan's Black Alpaca and Red Shawl Are Back in Town," used to run the headlines of the newspapers that liked to be facetious at her expense. Once, before a great gathering, she told her audience how tired she got of reading about that black alpaca and how determined she became that, just as soon as she could afford it, she would get the best of the newspapers by appearing in a black silk. At the time she was hoarding every penny to pay up the debts of her paper, *The Revolution*, and it was a long time before the black silk was forthcoming. She could hardly wait, she said, to get hold of the papers the morning after the black silk made its first appearance. Alas for womanly vanity! The black alpaca made too good a headline to be lightly discarded for fact. Or perhaps it was because all the reporters of that day were men, with no nice feeling for the difference between alpaca and silk. Anyway, next day what she read was, "Susan's Black Alpaca again on the Scene."

INDIRECT INFLUENCE OF MEN

The first one, far back, was Papa. Later, as a result of "growing up" amenities insisted on by older brothers, he became Father.

From the first I liked him. All children liked him, though he was a mortally quiet man. If it had not been for the exquisite gentleness of his eyes, and the dignity of his manner, I doubt that he would have stood out noticeably from other every-day American fathers who go "down town" in the morning and use home for dinner and for supper.

Because of his eyes, we children were never afraid of him. Upon me he had the specific effect of making me want to stop running and yelling and settle down beside him and read in the Third Reader. He had taught me to read before I could talk plainly, and he had a vivid paternal pride in my glibness with the Third Reader stuff. From the beginning that stiffened me with the feeling that he was bound up in me, and expected and was entitled to a fair sort of continuance through me.

I was not a good child, I romanced a great deal, I told lies, I skinned out of trouble the best way I could. But I sometimes did things, I remember, because I thought they would suit him, and I refrained from doing other things because I thought they wouldn't suit him. That is as far as I can go with honesty in asserting his effect in the sum of each day's activity.

But on beyond the day's activity was the background of life that he seemed to paint in for me. Today people sometimes say to me in times of turmoil, "How can you stay calm!" But it is easier to stay calm if your child-hand has rested day by day in the hand of a man who was never afraid. Not of anything. Not of robbers. Nor yet of cyclones. And I yield the more tribute to the man's hand because the child's hand was by nature twitchy and restless and had grave need of that quality of reassurance that came on to it from his touch.

I don't think that this man ever said to me, "Don't be afraid," or "There is nothing to fear." He merely wasn't afraid, and I saw it and felt it and lay back on it softly and surely until I, too, wasn't afraid. He wouldn't bolt doors at night. You couldn't make him.

"Oh, nonsense!" he said, when there was question of bolting doors. And I can remember halting on slinky tiptoe to the bolt and turning back and breathing deeply, body and soul expanding because freed from fear by that adorable ability of his to make fear just nonsense.

He wouldn't even get scared when the wind blew and the clouds grew black and everybody else was tipping about with head craned back, looking out for the funnel-shaped one.

"Run out and let the wind blow you," he would say. "It's a good strong wind." And in my shaky soul fear of the wind would change into a friendly admiration of its strength, and I would fare forth and come up the trough of it, laughing and safe.

He was an inf'del. At least, so I was told by the small persons with whom I foregathered in those days. "He reads so much," charitably explained a girl named Daisy Mill, quoting patently from some older person of forbearing disposition. If he was an inf'del, he must have been able to hold his own in the forensic bouts that divided time with checkers and chess in the rear of the stores in his town; or perhaps it was that the deep gentleness of his nature warded off harsh judgment. In any event, his reputation seemed to come on to me with some vague hint of the laurel. I have no recollection of having ever been humiliated or saddened by my lot as the inf'del's child. And I do recall feeling rather top-lofty because I had a father who read so much.

Except in the way of this mental and spiritual assertiveness, he required almost no room for himself—always took the dark meat of the chicken, never got any presents from Santa Claus, always made sure that nobody else wanted what was left before he took it.

Later, after my mother died, I was over played-upon by some kind church people who did not understand the acute impressionability of thirteen.

That year—it was a year of mighty evangelical activity in the middle West—many young children seemed to come happily and proudly into and through vivid religious experiences. They went, rapt-eyed, before the elders and the deacons to be catechized as to their desire for soul salvation and to be informed as to the right way to secure it. They came out looking like young angels.

But with me the matter proved agonizingly penitential. And here it was that I got the full benefit of the Father-man's being the kind of person he was. He did not laugh or chide. He read the Bible with me and he said prayers with me, so that I would know that he was there and on my side.

I fancy, recalling the watchfulness of his eyes, that he was sorely tormented just then, fearing that what did for him might not do for this girl-child of his. But he hid his own torment and made himself into a comforting background for mine. And I am sure that I came through, safe and sound, into a fuller understanding the sooner for his surroundingness.

I was young when this man died, and I had not in the least gathered together into a workable life plan what he handed on to me. I don't pretend that I have ever made it my own, but I do maintain that those wells of calm and control which he discovered for me hold deep and cooling waters which heal me in time of trouble.

Now, there was another man. He came later and his title was Doctor-Papa. Whereas the Father-man had been a failure in a material way, this man was a success. The Father-man had a background—an enervating background, I fear—of a well-to-do father and a well-to-do grandfather. Doctor-Papa had no such background. He had sprung up like a mushroom out of the direst poverty, pushed up, pulled up, educated himself, made himself. And he had the sustaining joy of the self-made man in himself.

He was small but soldierly in bearing, and always there seemed to come along with him a phantom sound of spurs a-jingle. That was because he had been one of Forrest's cavalrymen in the Civil War and his heels refused to forget it. He had not won what he fought for in the War, but he had been winning ever since, and winning had made him as bouncy as a ball.

The Father-man had lived rather apart from his community life, very much a private citizen, with pri-

vate and especial tastes, but Doctor-Papa's life energy was poured into his community. He was not at all a private citizen. He was the town doctor. For that matter, he was the county doctor, and he went across the Mississippi into Missouri to see patients, and he had patients down in Tennessee.

People did not seem able to get well or to die unless they had hold of Doctor-Papa's left hand. He saved, for living purposes, there is no telling how many people; and when he couldn't save them he held out that left hand of his and they swung on to it and he went right down with them into the shadow, conquering for them and with them every foot of the way.

Holding on to that left hand, young girls died, smiling happily, no longer grieved because they must die so young. Clinging to it, old men died, patiently glad to be set free. Holding desperately to that old left hand, mothers who had just brought new life into the world let their souls go singing on into heaven, sure that since there were men like Doctor-Papa in it, the world couldn't mistreat the little red and wrinkled mites they were leaving behind.

The reason that it was his left hand was because he didn't have any right hand. His whole right arm had been shot away in the war on his twenty-first birthday. He had done all his overcoming and succeeding with one hand. The strangest thing of all was that with that one hand he had become a surgeon—a rough and ready kind of surgeon, but one able to meet emergencies as they came. Once, when the emergency was a severed artery, miles out in the country, he mashed the ends flat under the rounded, sensitive agile finger-balls of his left hand and held them pressed down for dear life until help came, two hours later. His hand had grown so numb by then that it had to be lifted away, but the patient was in good condition.

"You can do a good deal just by holding on," Doctor-Papa used to remark.

Along with this practice he carried many side lines. Primarily they were for the purpose of giving jobs to his poor in-laws, but having once gone into them, he made them pay. He had, for one thing, a livery stable business, and the coal barges that came drifting down two big rivers, all the way from Pittsburgh, fed his coal business, and he had extensive farm holdings down in the loamy, corn-fat Bottom.

I remember that the house, a big sprawly, affectionate-looking house, used to be half full, nearly always, of funny little children, brought in from all the counties round about. Sometimes boys, sometimes girls. Doctor-Papa's wards they were. People who died in those parts could not, manifestly, feel that death would be restful until they had left their children's farms and bank accounts in his hands. And the coming and going of these funny little people who were getting acquainted with their guardian, their heavy little faces and their heavy little boots, the give and take that their presence insured, insured, too, to us regular dwellers in the big house a sympathy of contact by which none of us has lost, I'll wager. And I know now that they were there quite as much for our sakes as for their own.

Now this man, too, was an inf'del. He had a huge library, but he fairly lived on "Bob" Ingersoll. He was much more caustic than the Father-man in his attitude toward certain theological acceptances and instances. The essential difference between him and the Father-man was that the Father-man was of the philosopher type—he only wanted room for his own thinking. Doctor-Papa was of the reformer type; he wanted to put it over on the other fellow. He "talked and stomped," we used to say, a great deal about superstition and its ways, especially church bells. You see, they disturbed his sick.

It is curious to recall here that the Father-man went out into the beyond quite unchanged, quite as much inf'del as ever he was—if ever he was—while Doctor-Papa softened immeasurably as he grew older. Began, first, to say, "Well, I can't read the damn books with the old interest." Began next to say, "Well, I don't know, we can't always tell about everything." Began finally, if you can believe it, to listen for the church bells. That was while he lay dying.

He had the rarest, loveliest faith in people. You couldn't shake it. You could make him turn from you, troubled by your outlook on life, your scepticism about human nature, but you couldn't make him doubt humans.

"Why, haven't I dealt with 'em all my life? I know 'em and I trust 'em and I never get left," he would tell you arrogantly.

"Yes, you! You wouldn't lock the coal house last night and Nigger Sam stole a lot of coal."

"Glad to hear it. Shows that Sam had sense enough to know that I'd rather he'd have the coal than that seven harmless little niggers should go fireless."

You can see how strongly fortified he was.

Today, when maids make off with something that I would a little rather they had left, it is easy, and rather gay, because of Doctor-Papa, to dwell upon what they have acquired rather than upon what I have lost.

What the people around Doctor-Papa must have gotten from him most especially, what I know I got from him most especially, was the intention never to give up, but to push and push—against yourself—make yourself, never let up on yourself. In these later days I find it impossible to lie down supinely in those troughs of despair into which we all slip from time to time. Doctor-Papa stands squarely in the way.

They were not angels, you understand, those two men. I seem to have known even away back there that they weren't angels and not to have been sorry. But what I say is, that just by going about their business and working out their material and mental fortunes, they set free influences that helped.

My own life, as it happened, was not to be the usual sheltered life of woman, and it was in contacts with the outer world that what I got from those men seemed to stand me in greatest stead. In those contacts much that I got from people in general—admonitions, injunctions—often seemed not to apply. But what I got from these men in particular—the impress of kindly persons unafraid, the intent to take room for one's own thought and make room for the thought of others, and the determination never to give up—all that seemed to apply.

—Rose Young, in *Today's Magazine*.

AND MONTANA WON!

Three states contested for the right to claim the first woman congressman. The women who ran for United States Congress were Mrs. Frances C. Axtell, Progressive, of Washington; Dr. Eva Harding, (D), of Kansas; and Miss Jeannette Rankin, (R), of Montana.

OUR OWN PRESS TABLE

To Press Chairmen:

It is highly important that the various suffrage services to be issued by the Leslie Suffrage Commission for the benefit of the National American Woman Suffrage Association should be made as useful as possible at this end of the line, and that they should be made use of as largely as possible at your end of the line.

A great many women who are attempting to handle press work have not had a great deal of experience and do not quite understand the distinction to be made between one service and another and the ways in which each service can be used.

Every month we shall issue the *National Suffrage News,* the organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, as a comprehensive monthly review of suffrage happenings and the National's policies, along with interpretative comment, pictures, special departments, etc. The price is only 25 cents—though it can't stay as low as that very long. If you are not a subscriber, please subscribe to it. In it we shall keep going a department called the Press Table, around which we are inviting all State Presidents and Press Chairmen to assemble for the interchange of ideas and suggestions. Please draw up your chair along with the rest of us.

News Service

This goes, in the main, directly to newspapers and news agencies, and it carries a release date. But although it goes directly to newspapers, every press chairman should get copies so that all may be kept conversant with our current news and the time of its dissemination. Current news cannot be handled except in the most immediate way. That is to say, we cannot waste the time to get it into the hands of the press chairmen and let them put it out. It must be shot directly to the city desks of the newspapers. As soon as we get all our facilities established for the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission's work we expect this service to be almost daily.

Bulletin Service

Every week the National sends out a "Bulletin Service." This service tries to cover the national suffrage news of the week. It is sent to press chairmen all over the country. If it is to serve its purpose, they must know how to use it. They must arrange with their local editors for columns, or fractions of columns, in the local papers, for suffrage news. They should add to it such local suffrage news as may develop from week to week. Keep in mind that to the editor the important feature of suffrage news is the local news. Your community is much more interested in learning that Mrs. John Jones, a leading woman of your county, has become a convert to suffrage, than it is in what Mrs. Catt is doing. One feature of national news that you can always depend on as interesting to editor and community alike, is news about any action or utterance of the President of the United States on suffrage.

Sometimes you can get a friendly editor to give space to the National's bulletin intact as it goes out from headquarters.

Sometimes an item that is contained in the "Bulletin Service" may be too long for your local paper. Cut it so that it will not take up more space than you can spare for it. In order to meet the needs in different states all over the country, the National will probably supply a greater amount and a greater diversity of material than you can use locally. Select what is of special interest to your state and locality, and reject the rest. If you can get the editor to publish the items as separate news items scattered through the paper under separate heads, do it. Suffrage news gets more general reading, especially from men, in that way than when it is collected into a "Suffrage Column" or a "Suffrage Corner." But if your editor wants to lump it together, and you can't persuade him that the other way makes livelier reading for his subscribers, by all means let him have his suffrage feature the way he wants it.

Plate Service

Beginning with May we expect to have, monthly, a plate service which shall be at the disposal of our State Associations on the following basis: For every page order that you send in we will *give you* a page. The price per page is $1.50. You can send a page to one newspaper, and that newspaper can divide it up and use it from week to week as it sees fit, or it can use it all at once. A page cannot be divided up between two or more newspapers. When a newspaper has made use of the plate it returns the metal to our plate makers. (All newspapers understand this arrangement; you will find that yours do.)

Cartoon and Photograph Service

We shall have on hand cuts and mats of cartoons and photographs of leading suffragists that will be at your disposal at cost price. We will make you the same offer on this service as we do on the plate service. That is, we give you extra service on every order that you turn in, so that you get two for the price of one.

Biographical Service

We can give you stories about leading suffragists shaped to the space and general requirements of the average county paper. Suitable also for Sunday editions of the larger papers. We send these out in typed copy and they must be set in the office of the newspaper.

Scenario of Suffrage Stunts

We have on hand multigraphed copies of a résumé of the various suffrage stunts that have been used with good effect in different states for different purposes. They summarize under such headings as: Suffrage Parades, Automobiles, Window Displays, Billboard and Poster Advertising, Suffrage Tableaux, Suffrage Floats, National and Local Holiday Demonstrations, County Fair Demonstrations, Aeroplanes, Street Meetings, Suffrage Canning and Cooking Exhibitions, Putting Suffrage Into Public Amusement Places, Getting Suffrage on the Telephone and Telegraph Wires, Suffrage Messages in Unlooked-for Places, Suffrage Out-of-doors—In Flower Gardens, Flower Shows, Flower Markets.

Add your suggestions to ours. Ask questions. Answer ours. Criticize. Tell us where we fail to meet your practical need. Let us have here a give-and-take corner for the good of our suffrage press service.

THE VISITING SUFFRAGE SCHOOL

That the visiting suffrage school sent out by the National American Woman Suffrage Association during the past winter and spring has been a great success in the states that have tried it is shown by the following extracts from letters and editorials received from state presidents and others:

Maryland

BALTIMORE, Nov. 16, 1916.

(*United Press Dispatch*)

"This is the 'first week of school' for the suffragists from many parts of the United States attending the suffrage school here under the auspices of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Classes in political organization, public speakers, suffrage history and argument, legislative and federal work and press publicity are now in full swing and the ardent 'pupils' are deep in the lessons of suffrage campaigning.

"A model open-air meeting was held in the streets of Baltimore last night, at which suffrage speeches from a decorated automobile, heckling crowds and all the other features of such a gathering were demonstrated."

Maine

PORTLAND, Jan. 20, 1917.

"The school has been held and has given a great impetus to our work. We have enjoyed and, I know, profited by every minute of it. We raised $1,200 at the mass meeting held on the evening of the 18th. I have never attended a meeting of any kind where the audience listened more intently or manifested keener interest and sympathy. The effect on the general public has been everything that could be desired."

KATHERINE REED BALETINE,
Pres. Maine Woman Suffrage Ass'n.

Arkansas

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.

"I must thank you for the suffrage school, which was a success. I consider this the most constructive work now being done. It has been of inestimable value to Arkansas, and for the teachers I could not overestimate them. You have the ideal messengers to carry the message to Garcia."

ALICE S. ELLINGTON,
Pres. of Arkansas Equal Suffrage Ass'n.

South Carolina

COLUMBIA, Feb. 18, 1917.

(*Newspaper*)

"The suffrage school, which came to such a successful close on the 10th, marked an epoch in South Carolina's suffrage history. Though full of zeal, the suffragists are inexperienced workers. During those three strenuous days of instruction they profited by the past forty years of training and experience in every phase of suffrage work. They stand now armed and equipped to run the political battle they are waging for the protection of homes and for the broader development of the state. Suffragists from all over the state attended the school and if it does not mean a 'speed up' of suffrage in the state all yellow signs fail."

Alabama

"Two hundred suffragists from all parts of Alabama have arrived in Birmingham and will attend the school. A number of men have enrolled for the school and will attend the sessions."—*Birmingham Herald*, Feb. 14, 1917.

Louisiana

"More than 100 persons, representing many sections of the state, interested in seeing the ballot given to women have enrolled in the suffrage school being held here. The holding of this school is an interesting development of the suffrage movment in this state, and should result in measurably strengthening the work. Organization, co-operation and increased efficiency are the assets that will help the cause more than anything else and result in the final victory being more speedily won."—*State Journal*, Baton Rouge, Feb. 24, 1917.

Virginia

RICHMOND, Feb. 10, 1917.

"The suffrage school has been most helpful in stimulating interest in the community."

MRS. B. B. VALENTINE,
Pres. Equal Suffrage League of Va.

"A quiet but interested audience of about two hundred women and men—one-third men—held an equal suffrage meeting in the Y. M. C. A. auditorium last night—led by the instructors of the suffrage school in session this week. After the enthusiastic reception of the speeches, Mrs. Wilson succeeded in raising $310 in subscriptions, not including a basket collection, in less than ten minutes."—*Richmond Evening Journal*, Feb. 2, 1917.

Mississippi

"Mississippi women welcomed suffragists of National fame last week when a suffrage school held forth three days for the enlightenment of the would-be voters. The city hall of Meridian was used as an assembly room, where the instruction was imparted, and more than 150 prominent women from all over the state attended the sessions."—*The Times-Picayune*, New Orleans, Feb. 23, 1917.

New York

NEW YORK CITY, March 6, 1917.

"We find the suffrage schools are serving as an excellent aid to the work being done by the other branches of the educational department. The schools take up not only the organization work but also suffrage history and argumentation, civil government, economics, parliamentary law and public speaking

(*Continued on Page 22, Column 2*)

HER MOST CHERISHED PRIVILEGE

In their efforts to score against suffrage, anti-suffragists frequently define ideals of womanhood that are not short of shocking. Perhaps no one has been clearer in such definition than a writer in a western paper, who signs herself "Ethel C. Johnson." This is what she says:

"Equality of the sexes took a new turn the other day, when a young man in New York sued his lady love for breach of promise to marry. According to his petition, he had been caused great suffering and anguish and injury to his prospects for marriage, all to his damage in the sum of $5,000. You may laugh at this incident, but there is no denying that it is a straw that shows which way the wind is blowing for the women of the future, once they have attained full equality of rights."

"Nothing is given away in this world. Everything is sold, and we have to pay the price. With the acquisition of woman's rights, women will have to pay, and with their most cherished privileges. If women hold it their privilege to sue for breach of promise, they need not, once they have obtained the ballot, cry out if the weapon they alone have used is turned against themselves."

The implication that woman's most cherished privilege is support from some man, is unescapable. The implication that women are compensated for their disfranchisement by an economic arrangement to their advantage, is equally so.

Suffragists do not for a moment concede that everything is sold. They do not concede that love is sold, nor do they concede that the right to sue for breach of promise is one of woman's most cherished privileges. If suffrage sentiment and agitation have done nothing more for women than get them away from the age-old viewing of men and matrimony as a means of livelihood, it has done much. If it were true that a wife and mother's claim on the family income for her contribution to house and home is the claim of privilege and not of justice, you would have to search far to find a suffragist willing to avail herself of any such privilege. Suffragists do not want privilege at man's expense; they do not want privilege at society's expense; they want justice. And justice is not at anybody's expense. To attempt to frighten a woman who is seeking political justice by dangling in front of her the question of her support is to practise a sort of mental duress that is incredibly cheapening.

This same writer takes occasion to cavil at women for "taking man's mental training, doing his work." "Women," she says, "more than men, have caught the spirit of the times, and as a result, we see them deflecting their thoughts and energies from the old channels of the family into the avenues of politics and trade." Surely "Ethel C. Johnson" is a man and an elderly one. Adam used to talk like that a long time ago. Is it possible that there still exists man or woman who can hope to eschew changed economic conditions by throwing responsibility for her entry into trade on woman herself? Is there anybody who, deafened by the reverberation of the guns in the trenches of Europe, cannot hear England, France and Germany calling on their women, imploring their women to take on man's mental training and to do his work, in order to save their country? Is there anybody so blind that he or she cannot read the record and see that the United States did exactly the same thing just after the Civil War? It was at their country's call, it was even at Secretary Spinner's demand, that women trooped into trade and transportation in America then, as they are doing in England to-day. Is there anyone so wrapped in luxury that he or she cannot take account of the urgent necessity that to-day is driving mothers, wives, daughters into the ranks of the wage earners? Not because of "restiveness" or "rebellion" on woman's part; not because of "woman taking on masculine externals," to use the Johnsonian phraseology, but because men cannot, unaided, earn the support of a family.

Do antis really consider, as this writer would have us believe, that the privilege to sue for breach of promise is a fair equivalent for the franchise? Do they really so cherish such a privilege that they are willing to remain politically classed with imbeciles, criminals and children, in order to secure it to themselves? If this be true, it marks a very vivid line of distinction between suffragists and anti-suffragists in point of idealism. Suffragists hold to no such scheme of values. To a suffragist, the right of self-government is a privilege that is not for a moment to be considered on the same list with the right to sue for breach of promise.

(*Continued from Page 21*)

With the subjects thoroughly covered by authorities, we feel that the school is entitled to be known as an efficient part of the university extension work in New York State."

MRS. HOWARD MANSFIELD.

North Carolina

RALEIGH, March 13, 1917.

"We think these schools are the most efficient educational work that has been undertaken in the suffrage cause."

Texas

HOUSTON, TEX., March, 15, 1917.

"It is with pleasure that our association writes to express thanks and appreciation to you for giving us the opportunity of receiving instruction from those splendid women, Mesdames Cotnam and Wilson and Miss Doughty, during the three days of suffrage school here.

"They were an inspiration to every pupil and created an incentive for renewed effort on the part of all who attended; in fact, their influence permeated the entire city and caused an awakening to suffrage that nothing else could have done.

"May every success attend these schools until all the states realize the justice of our cause."

HOUSTON EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASS'N.

Missouri

ST. LOUIS, March 17, 1917.

"I want to write and tell you what a great success I think the suffrage school is. Its work is so efficient and inspiring that I am sure it cannot fail to be of untold value to suffrage. Those who were at the school will do infinitely better work now, I am sure."

CHRISTINE O. FORDYCE,
Chairman City Central Committee,
Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis.

THE HOME AND THE VOTE—A NEW KIND OF WOMAN'S PAGE

Heart to Heart Talks With American Women

We are forever being told that the place for woman is in the Home. Well, so be it. But what do we expect of her in the home? Merely to stay in the home is not enough. She is a failure unless she attends to the health and welfare, moral as well as physical, of her family, and especially of her children. She, more than anyone else, is held responsible for what they become.

She is responsible for the cleanliness of her house.

She is responsible for the wholesomeness of the food.

She is responsible for the children's health.

She, above all, is responsible for their morals.

How far can the mother control these things?

She can clean her own rooms, but if the neighbors are allowed to live in filth, she cannot keep her rooms from being filled with bad air and smells, or from being infested with vermin.

She can cook her food well, but if dealers are permitted to sell poor food, unclean milk or stale eggs, she cannot make the food wholesome for her children.

She can care for her own plumbing and refuse, but if the plumbing in the rest of the apartment house is unsanitary, if garbage accumulates and the halls and stairs are left dirty, she cannot protect her children from sickness and infection.

She can take every care to avoid fire, but if the house has been badly built, if the fire-escapes are inadequate, she cannot guard her children from the horrors of being maimed or killed by fire.

She can open her windows to give her children the air that we are told is so necessary, but if the air is laden with infection, she cannot protect her children from this danger.

She can send her children out for air and exercise, but if the conditions that surround them on the streets are immoral and degrading, she cannot protect them from these dangers.

Alone, she cannot make these things right. Who or what can?

The city can do it—the city government that is elected by the people to take care of the interests of the people.

And who decides what the city government shall do?

First, the officials of that government; and, second, those who elect them.

Do the women elect them? No, the men do. So it is the men and not the women who are really responsible for the unclean houses, bad plumbing, unwholesome food, danger of fire, risk of tuberculosis and other diseases, and immoral influences of the street.

In fact, men are responsible for the condition under which the children live, but we hold women responsible for the results of those conditions. If we hold women responsible for the results, must we not, in simple justice, let them have something to say as to what these conditions shall be? There is one way of doing this. Give them the same means that men have. Let them have a voice in politics.

A woman cannot marry without the interference of politics. She must have the permission of City Hall to get her license.

She cannot build a home without City Hall's permission.

She is obliged to depend upon City Hall to guarantee purity of the food for her household.

The water supply of her home is linked up with City Hall.

Politics gets inside of her baby. The milk that she feeds the baby is under political supervision.

She cannot get her garbage removed without the interference of politics.

Politics enters into the question of her heat and fuel supply.

She must depend on politics to protect her and her children from fire. And from contagious disease. And from polluted air.

She cannot walk on clean streets unless politics will permit her.

In face of these incontrovertible facts, can she possibly say that she doesn't care "to meddle with politics"? If she wants her house well kept she must meddle with politics, because politics has already meddled with her.

Woman is by nature and training a housekeeper. She must be allowed a hand in the city's housekeeping, even if she introduces an occasional house-cleaning.

A EUGENIST OF SIXTY YEARS AGO

There are not many reforms clearly defined in the minds of the American public today that were not equally well defined in the mind of Susan B. Anthony sixty years ago. The right of the child to be well-born, for instance. In connection with her temperance work Miss Anthony enunciated what for that day and generation was strong doctrine. Far too strong for 1852. She even went so far as to say that no child should be allowed to be born of a drunkard father!

FINANCE

Contributions Received from Feb. 1st to 28th, Inclusive.

GENERAL DONATIONS

Friends Equal Suffrage Association	$0.50
Miss Cora E. Moffett	5.00
Mrs. M. C. Spicer	5.00
Mrs. E. K. Hilton	2.50
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Collection:	
San Vegas	$ 5.50
Richmond, Va.	15.00
Raleigh, N. C.	5.05
Columbia, S. C.	8.55
Augusta, Ga.	6.55
Birmingham, Ala.	61.18
Meridian, Miss.	25.00
Kate Gleason	500.00
University of Wisconsin	25.00
Marion Reilly	25.00
Mrs. Francis P. Magoun (Collected)	68.00
Mrs. Ben Hooper	233.70
	$1,000.03

ANNUAL PLEDGES

Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw	$1,000.00
Miss Sara Wadsworth	50.00
Mrs. S. A. Walton, Texas	10.20
Mrs. Carrie C. Catt	229.79
Mrs. W. H. Hager	25.00
Florida Equal Suffrage Association	28.42
Gratia S. Erickson	250.00
Chicago Equal Suffrage Association	255.00
	$1,846.41

DUES

New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association	$100.00
Alabama Equal Suffrage Association	150.00
	$250.00
Total	$3,128.44

BOOKS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Women Are People!

It is settled. Alice Duer Miller says it. And proves it. For some lively years she has been putting it in the form of a question, "Are Women People?", she has been demurely asking Sunday after Sunday in her "colyum" in the New York *Tribune*. She has asked it in vilanelles and triolets and blank verse. She has asked it in prose. She has asked it with a stern, rising inflection and she has asked it like a perfect lady with nothing severer than indirect influence in her downcast cadences. She has asked it in so many ways and so tellingly that there is no saying how many people she has led up to the answer even before she herself got around to setting it down in her little new book. It may be noted in this connection that all you have to do to get the answer is turn the words around. Just asking the question answers it. And when it is conceded that women are people, then it must be conceded that they have the rights of people. Alice Duer Miller's agile pen admits of no compromise. Each ringing rhyme, each slashing skit points the moral that woman, being people, should be treated as people, and not as angels, devils, slaves, parasites or toys.

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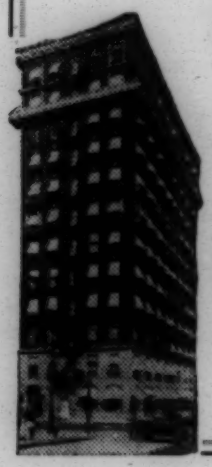

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The Case Against Pennsylvania

In a telling arrangement, which amounts to an arraignment, the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association has issued a summary of the countries and commonwealths in which some degree of suffrage is bestowed on women. Sized up beside states that have full suffrage and partial suffrage, PENNSYLVANIA looms as big as a fence among the fourteen that have no suffrage at all. Except for Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, these states are all southern or of southern extraction. Six of them are states that have no child labor law. Seven have no compulsory education law. Nine have no eight-hour day for women, etc. Pennsylvania is the only eastern state north of the Mason and Dixon Line which has not granted suffrage in any form to its women citizens, except Maine and Rhode Island, and Maine has authorized a referendum upon Constitutional Woman Suffrage in September, 1917. Is Pennsylvania where she rightly belongs by being in this category? Pennsylvania likewise stands out in a vehement typographical picture of nineteen (19) states listed as those whose legislatures have introduced constitutional, presidential, municipal or primary suffrage bills during 1917. The particular kind of suffrage for which Pennsylvania is waiting at this auspicious hour is Presidential.

* * *

Conservative Vermont Answers to Suffrage Roll Call

On March 20th, Vermont Legislators voted to put the women of that state on the rapidly widening suffrage map of the United States. The Senate passed a bill, which had previously been favorably acted upon by the House, giving women in incorporated villages the right to vote under certain conditions for all town officers, except road commissioners.